2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

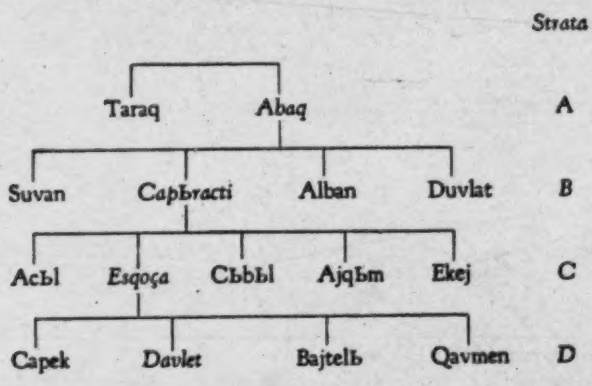
61 Kazak social structure. Kargabaiev did not know the names of all the subdivisions of the Great Orda but only those of the major groupings and of the groups relatively closely related to his own. Even so his account involves some fifty named groups, most of which for the sake of simplicity may be omitted here.

61 173 The traditional founder of the Great Orda had two sons, Taraq and Abaq, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru which bears his name and which genealogically comprises all his descendants through the male line. These two uru may be considered genealogically as the major divisions of the Great Orda and might perhaps be referred to as "tribes" provided the word is used only in a restricted genealogical sense and not taken to imply any kind of functional, political or geographical unity. In order to avoid for the moment the use of such terms I shall only describe the two uru founded by Taraq and Abaq as forming an A-stratum, genealogically speaking, of Kazak society.

Both Taraq and Abaq, according to the legendary account, had in their turn four sons apiece, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru bearing his name, and these eight uru may be considered as forming a genealogical B-stratum in the Great Orda. Similarly from each uru of the B-stratum branched out a number of uru forming altogether a C-stratum and from these in turn a D-stratum, each stratum containing a larger number of uru than the one preceding it.

This process may be indicated more simply by means of a diagram illustrating the relation of Kargabaiev's group to others. From the diagram I have omitted all uru not related directly to the informant's.

Great Orda



Kargabaiev belongs to the Davlet uru which is descended from Esqoça which claims descent from Capьracti, one of the four sons of Abaq.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

It is necessary to distinguish clearly between this diagram as representing a traditional genealogy and as representing the relationships of actual groups. Considered as a genealogy the original Davlet, the founder of the uru of that name, was the son of Esqoça who was the son of Capьracti and the grandson of Abaq. This is the way in which Kargabaiev interprets it. This allows four generations for the development of all the groups to a condition which they have maintained ever since. The younger and more sophisticated Kazak consider such genealogies as legends which give a more or less theoretical account of group origins.

It should be observed here that the traditional accounts and the names of eponymous ancestors vary widely from one Kazak group to another,[21] although the general pattern is always the same. This condition would naturally result from the heterogeneous historical origin of the Kazak and has no doubt been favored by the wide extent of their territory. It is likely that a particular group in the course of becoming identified with the Kazak would preserve their own already existing tribal genealogies and merely extend them to include other Kazak. As a result, although all Kazak consider themselves descended from one ancestor, the name of that ancestor varies from one group to another.

The common pattern of the genealogies, however, provides a convenient starting point for an examination of the relations between the several groups and strata.

At first glance it would appear that an uru of the B-stratum, for instance, would not actually exist except as the sum of its component parts, that is, the uru of the C-stratum which have branched off from it. The diagram suggests for example that the Capьracti group in the B-stratum consists of its subdivisions (Acьl, Esqoça, Cьbьl, Ajqьm, and Ekej) in the C-stratum and has no actual existence as a group in itself apart from them. Such, however, is not the case. A B-stratum uru should rather be considered as a parent group which produces offshoots forming the C-stratum but continues as a social unit in itself after the birth of its offshoots. Thus a man may belong to a B-stratum uru without belonging to any C-stratum group.

Further, the uru of the C-stratum can be considered as subdivisions of the B-stratum uru only in a genealogical sense. Actually they were independent groups with their own leaders and own areas of migration, sometimes far removed from those of the parent uru. They might in many cases be larger and more powerful than the parent uru against which they would wage war as enthusiastically as against some quite unrelated group.

This condition may be explained by examining the process of formation and development of new groups. It is obvious of course that a new uru did not arise with every fresh generation. According to Tlenshiev what usually happened when a man's sons came of age was that he provided them with their own kibitkas and a share of his own cattle. They customarily placed their kibitkas side by side with his and continued to graze their cattle along with those of their father. During the course of generations, however, the economic pressure of inadequate grazing lands for an increasingly large group sometimes induced an

[21] Kharuzin, *Kirgizy Bukeevskoi Ordy*, 26.

CHAPTER I.

101 Traditions concerning the origin of the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. - The seal /tamga/. The white bone. -Seniority. -Precedence.

The Kazakhs call themselves Kazakhs. They adjoin themselves to the tribe of the Uzbeks. The Kirgiz(1) they consider to be an Uzbek tribe separate from theirs. Out of hatred for the Kirgiz, the Kazakhs trace their origin from non-believers-Kalmuks, and even simply from [773] dogs. (2) The Kirgiz call themselves brothers of the Kazakhs and deny that they are descended from Kalmuks or dogs.

1. Kyrgyz. This is what the Kirgiz call themselves. They do not know the name of Karakirgiz /Black Kirgiz/ or Dikokamennyi Kirgiz/Wild Stone-Mountain Kirgiz/. In their opinion the word karakirgiz appeared with the coming of the Russians. The word buruty (burut, murut) is used among the Kirgiz.

2. In the Kurama uyezd the following story was transcribed, which was intended to explain the constant enmity between the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. There were three brothers, of whom two were Kazakhs and the third a Kirgiz. The first did not want to give the Kirgiz his share. Therefore the latter quarreled with them, grabbed a poker for himself from among the vessels (savanyng pishkesh), so as to take at least something of his share, and fled into the mountains. The Kirgiz descended from him and went on living in the mountains.

The word kazak, according to the dictionary of Budagov, means free, a wanderer, an outlaw, and also a bachelor. According to the explanation of the Kazakh Aviz, /2/ of the Perovsk uyezd, the word kazak is composed of two words: kaz (goose) and zag (raven), i. e., steppe birds, or in other words, steppe dweller. This etymology confirms in general that the name kazak indicates the form of life of the people bearing this name. According to the explanation of Sultan 173 Kanaev, bii of the Chimkent uyezd, Kazak means outlaw. He has heard from books that there were two brothers, Mogul and Tatar, and

that the Kazakhs were descended from the former. He has also heard the story that the Moguls fought with the Tatars and were conquered by them. From the battle 300 men survived who began to be called the three hundreds (hordes), and who found shelter in the mountains. Here they multiplied and came out onto the steppe.

The tradition concerning the formation of the Kazakh people from parts of various Uzbek tribes lives to this day on the lips of the people.

According to the tradition which is widespread in the Syr-Darya region, the father, i. e., the first chief of the Kazakhs, was a contemporary of Alasha-Khan, Alash, for which reason the war cry (uran) of all three hordes is Alash. (1)

1. The war cries of various clans are entered in supplement No. 1.

Alasha-Khan sent three detachments of unmarried horsemen of various Uzbek clans to a border region to guard his dominions. (2)

2. The Kazakhs indicate a place near Turkestan /the town/, from which the original three hundreds were sent out in various directions.

Since they were there for a long time without women, they attracted 300 tents of Doly (Gypsies or wanderers) to themselves by stories of their wealth and persuaded the women to kill their husbands, after which they took the Doly women for themselves. The leaders of the three hordes after Alasha were his three sons. The leader of the Great horde was Baishura, (3) the leader of the Middle horde was Dzhanshura,

3. It must be assumed that Baishura was the youngest son of Alasha and did not receive his share. At any rate it is said: the paternal changarak (the upper circle of the tent) remained in the Great horde. Therefore the Little horde calls the Great horde "the offspring of the father" (ata balasy) and the Middle horde "the offspring of the elder brother" (aga balasy).

and that of the Little horde was Karashura. As they multiplied and grew rich, the Kazakhs began to spread in all directions. The Great horde (ulu yuz) took the south, around the populated places, while

1 [Not translated -- A.]

173 the Middle /3/ horde (orta yuz) took the places suitable for droves of horses, and the Little horde (kshi yuz) the localities bordering with Russia.

173 618 A list of 92 Uzbek clans is spread among the Kazakhs in various variations, called the Nasab Namei Uzbekiia. According to Khoroshkin, this list owes its origin to a desire of the Bukharan Emirs to have a record of the traditions among the people about the 92 Uzbek clans. At the same time variants were produced even during the very collecting of 92 names, in spite of their alteration by the copyists.

173 233 In the list of the 92 Uzbek tribes it was said that when the 92 brothers became rich, their livestock began to get mixed. In order to show to whom the livestock belonged, the brothers, in consultation with each other, chose 92 signs or seals /tamga/.

The antiquity of the seals is confirmed by the fact that many of the names of the clans, and still more often those of the lineages, originate from names of the drawings on the seals. The study of the seals is important for the history of the Uzbek clans. The discovery of a clan seal in a certain place on a tomb or other monument can prove that that very clan nomadized there at some time. (1)

1. V. P. Nalivkin.

The seals serve in place of the inscription of a name on tombs and on every sort of document. The seal is branded primarily on horses and camels, and from the left side (from which the horse is mounted). The part of the body where the seal is branded differs in different clans. For example the Turaigyr lineage brands its seal on the head, the Kukkuz on the flank, the Kaz and Kedel on the shoulder, the Karakypchak on the belly, and one lineage of the Kypchaks, living around Troitsk, on the haunch. The seal is not branded on sheep and cattle, but they make a cut in the ear, the right or the left. This incision is called en, kez. Sometimes they make several strokes on an animal's cheek in place of the seal. This is called surma. Although anyone who wishes to distinguish his livestock can invent a seal, an en, etc., for himself, once he has established this sign he cannot change it except in the /4/ case of allotment to someone or as a result of the increase of the [illegible] livestock. (1)

1. Cf. supplement No. 2. 1

1 [Not translated -- A.]

[135]

Part II. Ideas on the History of the Present-day Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Chapter 3. On the Origin of the Kirghiz-Kazaks and their Condition until their Submission to Russia in 1730.

121 The lack of authentic documents on the basis of which to write a history of the Kirghiz-Kazaks, the impossibility of taking advantage of their traditions, and our determination not to make suppositions which are pure guesses would leave us with nothing positive to say to our readers on the origin of this people if our honored orientalist, Mr. Senkovsky, had not been kind enough to give us help. Having profited from his works and his knowledge of the history of the Orient, we will complete here the account of what we know about the Kirghiz-Kazaks by glancing at their history, from their origin to the time when they began to appear in Russian chronicles, that is, until the middle of the 16th century.

173 175 For the last hundred years most Russians have believed and written that the first Kazaks sprang from the Tatars, or took form among them, and that the name Kazak arose among them, whence it was extended to all the Kazaks [136] of former times and to those who exist today. However, specialists in Oriental history are firmly refuting this opinion to which one is so accustomed in Russia and which has given rise to so many debates among the scholars there. These specialists affirm that the Kazaks formed an independent and compact nation in the earliest centuries of our era, and some even trace their existence back to a period well before the birth of Christ. It is certain that Firdevsi (or [114] Ferdussi), who lived in 1020, that is, two centuries before the Mongols appeared in the west, spoke in his history of Rurtam of a Kazak people and Kazak khans. His work and the most ancient [101 721] Persian chronicles upon which he has drawn inform us that the ancient Kazaks, like those of today, made themselves famous by plundering and raiding and that their principal weapon was the

[136 cont.]

173 175 721 101 spear. For this reason in Asia the name Kazak began to be applied to all mounted bands armed with spears who practiced the calling of the true Kazaks, that is, who engaged in brigandage and raids upon neighboring lands. Thus the Tatar Kazaks, whom the Russians believed to be the first Kazaks, were only imitators, and their name was not Tatar but borrowed from another people. If this idea is established and irrefutable it destroys all the explanations and interpretations which have been made for the word "Kazak."

101 175 The meanings which have been given it since are based only on the conformity of certain peoples with the true and primitive Kazaks in way of life and type of arms. But the name, itself, as a proper name, does not lend itself to any translation or etymological argument. For this reason, those who have derived this word from koziavka; from koza, "goat" or "goatskin" (1);

[114]

1. Unpublished work on the Kazaks, mentioned in Karamzin's history of Russia, Vol. V.

from Kipchak (2); or from a tongue [137] of land on the Dnieper

2. Remarques sur l'histoire d'Aboulghazi [Observations on the History of Abulgazi], Part II, Chapter V.

called Kossa in Russian (1), or from Kazak, meaning Slavic gen-

1. Scherer, Annales de la petite Russie [Annals of Little Russia, Strasbourg, 1788]; and Gartknokh [Hartknoch, C.J.], Histoire de la république de Pologne [De republica Polonica..., 1687].

eral (2), or from Khozare (3); etc., have gone to useless trouble.

2. Synopsis.

3. Sestrènzcevitch /Siestrzeńcewicz/, Histoire de la Tauride /Brunswick, 1780/.

[149 cont.]

175 643 728 669 bloodshed caused for several years by the quarrels of certain tribes among themselves. He compelled everyone to obey him by his wisdom and equity. He caused the weak tribes to reunite in order to resist the strong ones, and forced the latter to be peaceful. He gave them all the laws by which he judged them, and their memory is still preserved among the wisest Kazaks, but unfortunately they are not carried out (1).

1. See the article on the form of government in the statistical section /of this book/. [Not translated.]

175 643 In spite of all his services and his influence among the hordes, Tiavka apparently did not enjoy wide power over his people, and used prudence, experience, his connections, and his cleverness more than force. As leader of all the Kazaks, he lived in Turkestan, as did his father and grandfather. He chose three chiefs, whom he held dependent upon himself, to govern and watch over each particular horde. These were: Tiul, in the Great Horde, Kazbek in the Middle Horde, and Aitiak in the Little Horde.

175 631 ● 173 We speak here of the division of the Kazak people into three hordes, without having said when and how this took place. Unfortunately, this event is a mystery to us, and we have no way of determining anything in this regard. We do not know how much to believe of a folk tradition which says that a powerful Kazak khan divided all his people among his three sons, and that those [150] given the eldest son were called the Great Horde, those to the second, the Middle Horde, and those to the youngest son, the Little Horde (1).

1. The Kazaks translate the word "horde" by iuz, which means "hundred" or "century." This is why they say ulu-iuz ("the great hundred"), urta-iuz ("the middle hundred"). However the word iuz also has other meanings in Turkic.

175 [150 cont.]
631 We could not find any information on Pulat, son of Khan
173 Tiavka and father of Abul Mahmet, who is found in the table.

175 The traditions say only that the calm re-established by
721 Tiavka did not last long among the Kazaks. Dissensions and troubles began again, and the neighboring peoples were quick to profit from them. On the west they were attacked by the Volga Kalmuks [Kalmyk], and on the north by the Bashkirs and the Cossacks of Siberia. But the most terrible of all were the Dzungars to the east. At this time their chief was the powerful Kungtaidji Galdan Tsyren, who not only made all the nomadic peoples tremble but also spread terror in Russia and China. In this unfortunate situation, the Kazaks could not expect help except from the power of Peter the Great, whose vast genius, concerned with the glory and welfare of his people, watched over the Asian border while he had the most important dealings in Europe.

175 Prince Gagarin was governor of Siberia at that time. The
648 Tsar commanded him not only to open relations with the Kazaks,
662 but to help them, if possible, against Galdan Tsyren, in order to put some check on the continual increase of power of the Dzungarian leader. Gagarin carried out the Tsar's commands in 1717, and the Kazak khans, Tiavka, Kaip, and Abulkhair (2)

2. We have drawn this information from works and translations /Sochineniia i Perevody, k Polze i Uveseleniiu Sluzhashchiia/ of January, 1760. See the article on the "golden saber" /Izvestie o pesotnom zolote v Bukharii... (On the Gold Dust in Bukharo)/. The Khan Tiavka in question must be the famous legislator of the Kazaks of whom we have spoken. But at this time he was already very old. His weakness and the loss of power which ensued, were no doubt the cause of the election, while he still lived, of the khans Abulkhair and Kaip, whose names we see here for the first time (the year 1717).

[A3]

[300 cont.]
161 divisions of these hordes into several parts, he will be fully convinced that an exact census of this people is absolutely impossible.

Thus it is necessary to be content with information, no doubt quite uncertain, which they themselves have transmitted to the
162 Russians and which is far from resting on adequate data. The result of this is that the three hordes are composed of approximately 400,000 tents or families, and that of this number, the Great Horde has about 75,000, the Middle Horde 165,000, and the Little Horde 160,000 (1).

[161] 1. Since the beginning of the 14th /19th?/ century, the Little Horde has suffered considerable losses in men, as much through internal dissensions as through misunderstandings with their neighbors.

The number of individuals living in each tent is not always the same, but there is good ground for believing that the truth will not be distorted in carrying it to five or six, on the average. Consequently, the Great Horde would have 375,000 to 450,000 persons, the Middle Horde about 1,000,000, and the Little Horde about 900,000, while the three together would make up from 2,000,000 to 2,400,000 persons of both sexes.

Chapter II. Division of the People.

631 No matter what differences in origin are attributed to the tribes which make up the nation of the Kazaks, they have all been fused into a single people living in the same country, which [301] in olden times was subject to a single chief. The proof of this is in the language, the religion, the customs, and the habits, which are everywhere the same.

643 The traditions confirm this, adding further that at the death
173 of one of their khans, who had reigned over the entire nation, his three sons divided it among themselves, and that according to the order of birth of their respective chiefs, these three divisions

[301 cont.]
643 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little
173

1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of
631 the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

[115]

2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent
631 lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the
611 closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs
[114] written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

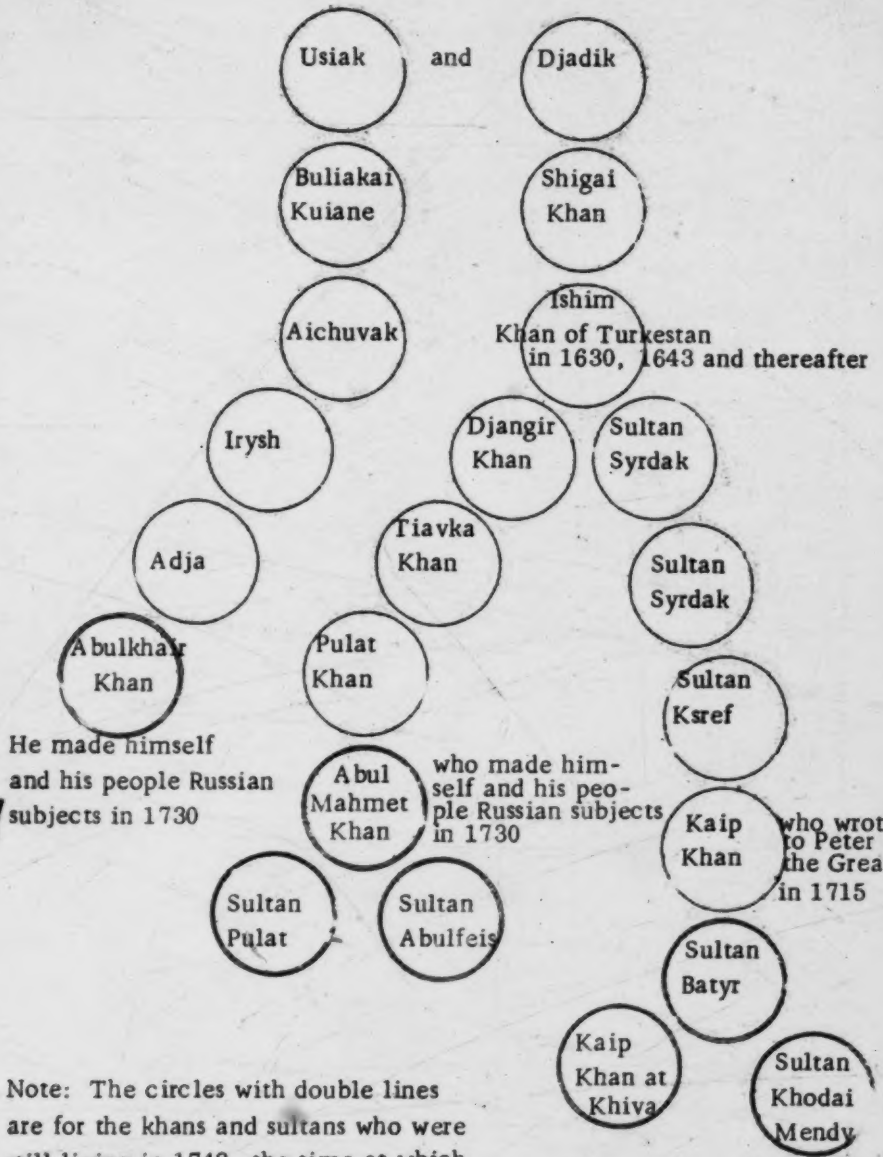
5: Levchine--182 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 2

Chart I

173
643
613

Genealogy of the First and Main Branch of the Kirghiz-Kazak Khans
(The earliest founders of the descent groups are two brothers)



1636
648

Note: The circles with double lines are for the khans and sultans who were still living in 1748, the time at which these charts were made up.

5: Levchine--183 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Plate 3

Chart II

173
643
613

Genealogy of the Second Branch of Khans

Bukei Khan
Kuchak
Khodai Mendy
Tursunl Khan

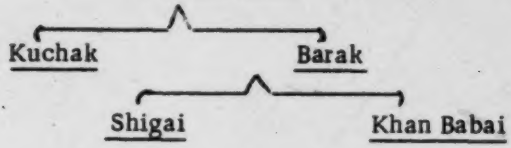


Chart III

Genealogy of the Third Branch of Khans

Vali
Ablai
Vali
Ablai Khan

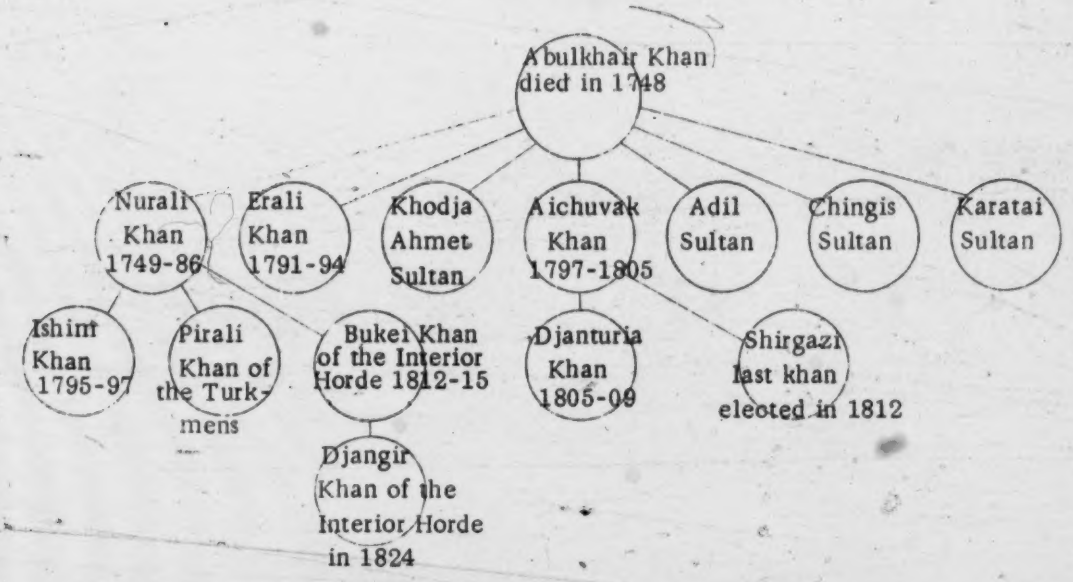
The last was still khan in 1748

Note: Those whose names are underlined were still living in 1748.

● 173
643
175
613

5: Levchine--184 G-4, 5 (ca. 1821) 1840 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Supplement to Chart I Prepared in 1824
Khan Abulkhair's Descendants



Note: All these khans governed the Middle Horde. No mention is made here of the sultans who are sons or grandsons of Abulkhair. They are so numerous that a list of their names would unnecessarily weary the readers.

Plate 4

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
KAZAKHSTAN RQ1
KN 175

times and relations existed as much between nomad and nomad, between city and city, as between nomad and town.

During this period a number of problems of intergroup and international relations arose which impose their stamp on the peoples of Central Asia to this day. As previously noted, the political unity of the Turks in Central Asia was gone by the 15th and 16th centuries. Many of the Turkic bands infiltrated farming zones, and groups began to settle down and take up agriculture. This process had actually begun earlier, in the eighth and ninth centuries. As the Turks moved from the eastern steppe to the western, into the valleys and oases of Turkestan, they adopted the practice of irrigation farming, subjecting or displacing the Iranian peoples already settled in the region. The succession of empires from the 12th to the 15th centuries, under Genghis Khan and his successors down to Tamerlane, disrupted the pattern of infiltration. With the collapse of these empires, many new Turkic communities were left stranded and had to seek their own adjustment to the circumstances.

From the 15th century on, the Turks gradually separated into two great economic wings, the agricultural and the stock-raising, the settled and the nomadic. This split was permanent and rarely to be bridged. Indeed, before and during the period of the great empires, from time immemorial down to the 15th century, traditional trade patterns had developed between herders and farmers, giving pastoral products (such as hides, wool, milk, and felt) and animals (as food, draft, and transport) in exchange for grain, textiles (cotton and silk), metalwork, and other products of farm and bazaar. But after the collapse of the empires the pattern fell apart, and through the 16th to 19th centuries the nomads raided and enslaved the settlements as often as they traded. The nomads took produce and slaves from neighboring Iranian communities, from Russian communities, and to a lesser extent from Turkic farming communities.

With the end of the era of political integration under the empires and the ensuing economic cleavage between herder and farmer, there came a split between the religion of the herder and that of the farmer. Farmer and city-dweller alike are thorough Moslems. They have been so for more than a thousand years—and so great were the centers of Islam that many aspects of modern mathematics, geography, astronomy, and physics rest on the achievements of thinkers in these great cities of Central Asia. By contrast, the religion of the nomad on the steppe is an amalgam of many cults—shamanism, fire worship, ancestor worship, bits of Islamic demon lore, devil lore, and spirit lore. The nomads have been only superficially influenced by the Koran and the institutions of Islam.

KN 173

However, considerations other than a common political system, economic interest, or religious cause serve to weld a people together. Among the steppe nomads, a common tradition and ties of blood-relationship have evoked a vague expression of Turkdom. This common tradition is usually transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation; it comprises the recitation of the ancestral line, together with the great and noble deeds of the ancestors. Tales of battles and empires won or lost are recounted. They are not fiction, for they are

K 173 602

KN 173 believed. These people do not make a distinction between truth and fiction in such matters.

K 173 602 The preservation of the genealogy likewise establishes a basis for intergroup relationships. In time of need, one Turkic group may call upon another for aid, and may even be adopted into the stronger group. For instance, over many centuries the Uzbeks had gradually drifted apart from the Kazakhs. The Uzbeks are farmers, the Kazakhs herders. The Uzbeks are genuinely Islamic, the Kazakhs only superficially so. K [648] Yet within the Uzbek domain one group traced its ancestry back over 800 years to the Kereit, a people mentioned in the chronicles of Genghis Khan. By the 19th century this people had become personified as one man—the founding ancestor Kerei. Among the Kazakhs there existed a group which also called itself Kereit and which traced descent from this ancestor. Eight hundred years after the traditional founding of the line, the Kazakh Kereit joined the Uzbek Kereit as "kinsmen," although a small group did later rejoin the Kazakhs. This episode is recounted by a Kazakh who became a Russian scholar in the 19th century—Valikhanov, a nobleman of high intellectual endowments. How much of the story is romanticized fiction, and how much is fact, is hard to say but that is beside the point. The Kazakhs and the Uzbeks believe it is true and act accordingly.

These principles—which underlie fact—are of signal importance in understanding many experiences recorded in the Soviet period. They K make it possible to comprehend why a youth in a Kazakh village in 1950 KN can recite his ancestry back over many generations. They explain in [166] part (but only in part) how Turks can shift group affiliations, a tendency which makes the interpretation of Soviet census data something of a problem. Such shifting makes for a certain fluidity in the population picture in Central Asia and is one response to excessive rigidity and pressure from Moscow. This fluidity below in response to rigidity from above creates a situation of tension, and is at the same time an expression of that tension. This tense, strained situation will receive much attention in the pages which follow.

THE KAZAKHS

K 175 648 During the 16th century the Kazakhs gradually occupied the steppe between the Altai Mountains in the east and the Ural River in the west, north of the Bet-Pak-Dala (Hungry Steppe) and the Aral Sea. In the same century, Russians and Cossacks entered the farming regions directly north of the Kazakh steppe. To the south, along the Syr-Darya River to the Aral Sea, dwelt the farming country folk, the Uzbeks. The Kazakhs of this period were roughly grouped into three clan confederations or hordes: the Great Horde, whose territory traditionally has been in the eastern Kazakh steppe, from the Aral Sea to Balkhash and the southern Altai chain; the Middle Horde, who occupied the central and northern steppe, north of the Aral Sea as far as the black-earth region of southern Siberia, and east to the Altai chain; and the Little Horde, whose territory extended west of the Aral Sea to the Ural River and the northeastern part of the Caspian Sea.

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One of the earliest rebels against the Russians was Batyr Srym,[1] a member of the lesser Kazakh aristocracy of the Little Horde, that part of Kazakhdom closest to European Russia. Srym led a series of rebellions against the Russians, interspersed with some campaigning on their behalf, in the latter part of the 18th century. In 1776 he was one of the Kazakh leaders who supported Pugachev, a Russian Cossack who had led the Cossacks in a rebellion supported by some of the native populations, against Catherine II. After the Pugachev rebellion was suppressed, Batyr Srym maintained friendly relations with the Russians until 1783, when a series of border incidents between Cossacks and Kazakhs broke out. Srym was captured by Cossacks and was released only when Nurali, khan of the Little Horde, paid ransom for him. Later, however, Srym's popularity appeared dangerous to Nurali, and both he and the Russians campaigned against Srym. In 1785 the Russian authorities sought to deal directly with Srym and the lesser Kazakh nobles rather than with their khan, who had little authority over them. The Russians now had the Kazakhs split. On Nurali's death his followers elected one of his sons to succeed him, Batyr Srym and his nobles elected another. The Russians succeeded in gaining control of the office of khan, which led Srym to seek the abolition of the institution of the khanate. In this he failed. The proposed reform was too radical, and the Russians successfully opposed it. They cut Srym from his fellow nobles, whom they now gathered under a leader of their own choosing, the Sultan Aichubek. Srym fled to the Khanate of Khiva, far to the south, in 1797. There he died in a raid in 1802.

Between 1820 and 1850 a series of campaigns were conducted against the Russians by such Kazakh leaders as Nurmuhammed, Isatai Taimanov, and Kenesary Kasymov. All were defeated, and there was little organized resistance among the Kazakhs in the latter part of the century. Among these men, who still survive in the folk memory as popular heroes, the most important was Kenesary.

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Kenesary Kasymov, born in the same year in which Srym died, was a member of the highest Kazakh nobility, a royal sultan of the Middle Horde. Continuing the policy so successful among the Little Horde, the Russians sought to take away the sovereign power from the hereditary ruling family and transform the sultanship into a matter of Russian election; they also withdrew two of the most fertile pasture lands of the Middle Horde, the Ishim and Tobol valleys. Kenesary asked support from the ruler of Tashkent, who answered by killing his emissaries. Thus, by the 1830's, the Middle Horde was caught in a squeeze between the Russians to the north and the Tashkent begs (chiefs) to the south. Defeated to the south, Kenesary fought a guerilla campaign against the Russians to the north. He was elected khan by leaders of the Middle Horde and certain elements of the Little Horde as well, and during the early 1840's he gained many followers among the Little Horde. The Russians, unable to defeat him, erected a line of fortifications deep into the steppe along the Turgay and Irgiz rivers. Kenesary thus was pressed from the north and west as well as from the south. Turning

[1]Batyr is a title signifying lesser noble rank.

each clan had a territory distinctly its own, separated by widely recognized boundaries from the territories of neighboring clans. Lineages within each clan likewise had pasture lands of their own, the land of each lineage separate from the others; villages had separate lands for their own grazing, and known routes over which they moved from pasturage to pasturage in a fixed annual round.[1]

There is thus a correlation between neighborhood and kinship; the closest neighbor of the Kazakh household head was most likely to be his brother, father, father's brother, or father's brother's son. This close relation between the two social bonds is of more than theoretical interest; it has been the basis for an ideological warfare among various Soviet camps in different periods of recent history. Another feature of Kazakh society clarifies this relationship between kinship and neighborhood. The social bond of the Kazakhs, the means whereby two individuals demonstrate their membership in the common society of Kazakhdom, is the genealogical tree. Because of Kazakh nomadism, the relationships among the different branches, whether clans or lineages or villages, are loose, occasional. If two Kazakhs meet and are unknown to each other, they trace their genealogies for each other until a common ancestor is found. This common ancestor then becomes the point of reference for the two, the means whereby they establish whether they are more or less equals, or if not, which is superior. The ancestor in common establishes a basis for mutual aid and cooperation.

The number of generations traced in the genealogies to a common ancestor determines the closeness of the relationship; the fewer the generations, the closer the kinship, and the closer in space are the villages, camps, and pasturages of the Kazakhs. These genealogies are the membership roll, the constitution, the charter of incorporation, and the historical record of the different groups; they are either recited baldly, in answer to questions concerning ancestry, or they are the skeleton around which folk epics are created.[2] These folk epics, which have suffered a peculiar fate under the Soviets, are long recitations or chants concerning the deeds of the ancestors. The Soviet-era epics of Djambul are quite different; Djambul's so-called epics are songs in praise of Stalin.

Kazakh descent lines are not all equal; a father who is the founding ancestor of all the members of a horde or clan or village may have several sons, who are ranked according to their order of birth, the eldest son having the highest rank. The descendants of the sons will then recognize among themselves a relative rank order according to which of the sons they were descended from. The father or founding ancestor of the entire line is himself a member of a still larger group with rank according to order in which his descent[3]

The division of Kazakh society into social classes is also related to the ranking of descent lines. The same ties of blood and common

[1] Radloff (105), 1891, pp. LI-LVI.
[2] Samoilovich, in Radenko *et al*, 1930, pp. 306 ff. For a genealogy still preserved today, see Makanov, 1947, pp. 1-28.
[3] Khorezin, 1889, pp. 41-42.

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 [131] [241] The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 771 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

101 past six centuries, are of a common origin, or not. Radlov, Grigor'ev, Veliaminov-Zernov, Ibragimov, and P. Semenov are all of the opinion that the Kirgis, both Kazakh-Kirgis and Kara-Kirgis, are of mixed origin.[5] On the other hand, Kharuzin has maintained that they are one people who have ramified into many descent groups,[6] and Aristov shares Kharuzin's view.[7] It should be added that such is the belief of the Kirgis themselves.

• 173 The culture history of Asia is by its nature con-
[611] ducive to raising problems of this sort.[1] The central feature of Kazakh-Kirgis social structure is the lineage, the genealogy, the clan and tribal origin, traced in the
[186] agnatic line. These pastoralists have a highly developed historical sense, and strong traditions in the matter of their origins and descent. On the other hand, for con-
siderable periods of their history they have had their own script and records, and surrounding them have been
[175] other highly literate and record-keeping cultures. Thus we have two separate historical streams, the objective history which tells us that a Kirgis group formed part of Chingis Khan's empire, that the hordes of the Kazakhs were united under Khan Tyavka in 1698, and so forth; on the other hand we have folk history--the mythical history

[5]Radlov, Obrastsy, III; Kharuzin, K Voprosu, 89.

[6]Kharuzin, op. cit., 89.

[7]Aristov, Zametki, 350 ff; Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 391 ff.

1 [cf. AHI/Mongolia, Cat. III, pp. 262-264 -- Analyst]

173 of Fortes, the native history which counterfeits history.[8]

173 186 The mythical history divides itself into two. There is first of all the grand myth, the universal myth, which according to one of their own men of letters, states that the great ancestor, Turk, had two sons, one named Tatar, and the other Mongol.[9] This myth further affirms the Turkic descent from a primal ancestor in the direct male line; this ancestor bears the eponym of the Turkic peoples generally, that is, from this ancestor they take their name. Second, one of his sons is Tatar, the other Mongol. Thus, the Mongols are assigned an eponymous ancestry in analogous fashion to their own: the Mongols have of course a parallel myth, but one which is more flattering to themselves. The slight to the Mongols in this myth is that they are made into a junior line to the Turkic line, even as the son is junior to his father. Descent is traced in Abulgasi's account even further back, to Noah by way of Japhet,[10] and thence integrated into the Biblical and Koranic genealogies: the Kazakh-Kirgiz are an Islamic people.

173 61 The second mythical tradition is specific to the Kirgis and Kazakhs, and supplies them as such with a

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[8] Fortes, Dynamics of Clanship, pp. xi and 26; cf. also Evans-Pritchard's concept of structural time in Nuer, 1940, 94 ff.

[9] Abulgasi Ba'adur Khan, ch. 2.

[10] Idem; cf. Bichurin, I, 228 (260).

• 173 61 common genealogy and origin. It is to this tradition that Kharusin and Aristov have reference when they assert the common origin of the Kirgiz. Fortes in a recent statement has ably demonstrated the role of a genealogy as a kind of origin myth in a unilineal descent group, of which the Kazakh-Kirgiz are one.[11] These genealogies supply a charter for the descent group, the charter supplying the foundation for Fortes' theory of the unilineal descent group as a corporate structure. To make this theory applicable to the Kazakh-Kirgiz, as well as to other Asiatic pastoral societies, it need only be added that all descent lines, from the maximal, i.e., Turkdom as a whole, to lesser descent lines, such as the Kirgiz, etc., and still lesser, such as clans, lineages within clans, and even extended families, all bear certain marks of corporate structure, such as the genealogical charter. However, a clarification is necessary: the mythical nature of the charter lies only in the larger corporate entities: the clan, the nation (i.e., the Kazakh), or the Turks as a whole. The lesser structures or descent groups, such as the lineage or the extended family, lack this mythological component. The clan, the nation, etc., being larger, require longer genealogies, whose more distant reaches are lost in ob-

[11] Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 25.

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security, and this obscurity which itself is part and parcel of the myth, supplies its needed extra-historical context, and removes it from the domain of verifiable human experience. The genealogy becomes mythical by its very scope: one must believe it to accept it, and one accepts the myth to the extent that one accepts membership in the group. The myth does not, in this sense, counterfeit history; rather, the myth transcends history and the genealogy in thus supplying the substance of the myth transcends history in its own fashion for it has also transcended itself.

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Turkic savants, such as Abulgasi, or the brilliant 19th century Kazakh scholar, Chokan Chingisovich Valikhanov, understood the working of the two types of temporal sequence and their mutual relations very well. Valikhanov demonstrates his knowledge of objective history and its interpretation, and his control of the meaning of the principle of descent. He describes the principle of descent as patrilineal, and seniority within a number of patrilineally related groups as governed by the principle of primogeniture. These principles have, both in his conception as well as in that which is proposed here "...a complete genealogical significance. For this reason, the mode of relationship between hordes, and lineages within a horde among themselves correspond to the law of blood brotherhood, and the relationship of

619 643 829 there is the fiction that the Little Horde was the senior horde by virtue of the direct patrilineal descent of its nobility from the original Kazakh nobility. Second, there is the fiction of ultimogeniture, which, as a principle for the establishment of seniority, was imputed to law codes despite the fact that the principle in this form is nonexistent.

619 173 The clans which composed the hordes were common descent groups, whose structure was analogous to the corporation.[55] The clan's charter of incorporation is the genealogy, which may be real or fictive, that is, assigned to newcomers added to the clan, i.e., to one of its composite lineages. These genealogies were handed down by oral tradition and formed part of a larger set of oral traditions embodying the myths which gave expression to the unity of the group. It is not to be expected that these oral traditions would have the accuracy of written history. Quite the contrary, they might vary in every detail from each other as reported by two different Kazakhs, and this would still not alter in the least their validity as genealogies, for these genealogies

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[55] Here I have in mind Fortes' exposition of the corporate character of the lineage, which I am in turn applying to the clan, for the same principles are at work: the corporation is a person; the corporation never dies (Henry Maine); it has rules of membership and admission to membership (Weber); and it has a center of authority (Weber). The last criterion is more applicable to the clan than the lineage. Fortes, Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, 17-41.

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173 are first of all clan myths which make no claim to objective historical reference.

619 As an instance of this, portions of two Kazakh gene-
173 alogies which purport to give the ancestry of a famous
643 Kazakh Khan, Abul Hafr, who led a portion of the Little Horde over to the Russians in 1730, follow. The two genealogies are simply ten generations cut out of much longer ones; the genealogy given in the left column was composed by a local Kazakh official named Dikambai-batyr in the 1870's;[54] that in the right column was taken down from the oral report of another Kazakh, Alikhan Bukeikhan, fifty years later, in the 1920's.[55]

I	Kerim	I	Urus (1361-1376)
II	Tuigash	II	Kui-Ruchuk (1396)
III	Kurenbai	III	Barak
IV	Djalyntus	IV	Djanibek
V	Bab-kasym	V	Usak
VI	Er-bulantai	VI	Bula-kai-kuyan
VII	Sabar-batyr	VII	Ai-Chuwak
VIII	Er-djomart	VIII	Irysh
IX	Alpyspek	IX	Adja
X	Abul-Hafr	X	Abul-Hafr (1730)

[54] Aristov, Opyt Vyiasneniia, 394-395, note 2.

[55] Chuloshnikov, appended genealogy.

1/1 [i.e. the validity of contradictory genealogies; cf. Cat. 619, p. 389 -- Analyst]

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The two genealogies were collected fifty years apart and in different parts of the steppe. They give the ancestry of the famous khan, but one who had lived a century and a half and two centuries respectively before the two genealogies were taken down. Nevertheless, it is interesting that these two tables differ entirely in detail with the possible exception of the names in the fourth ascending generation, Er-bulantay and Bula-kay-kuyan. The earlier genealogy is interesting for its slight Koranic cast: The ten generations listed by Aristov are but a segment of a genealogy which descends fifty-four generations from Adam to Abul-Hayr. Adam's descendants in the eleventh and twelfth generations are Noah (Nuh) and Japhet (Yapys). Abraham and Isaac are also listed, but few other particulars correspond; for example, Ishmael is not named.[56] The genealogy given by Chuloshnikov, on the contrary, mounts nineteen generations to Chingis Khan, and has no trace of the Koran or Islam. Most of the people mentioned are actual historical figures whose dates are ascertainable, and there is reason to believe that Chuloshnikov improved upon the original by reference to historical works.

The genealogy recorded by Aristov is an actual one, that of the head of the Botpay clan of the Great Horde during the last third of the 19th century. The prestige

[56] Aristov, op. cit., 394.

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of Abul-Haïr was so great that according to this genealogy he was magnified as the founder and head of all three hordes, and his line was reckoned through fourteen generations to Botpay, the head of a clan in the 19th century. Abul-Haïr becomes a mythical figure in this genealogical account, although he is a known historical personage; we know, in fact, he was not the founder of the Kazakh hordes. Similarly, he is known to have flourished around the year 1730, and is not separated by fourteen generations from the Kazakhs of the 1860's, for this would imply an average of 9.3 years per generation. There is another interesting feature of the genealogy of Botpay: the descent line of that clan head is traced through the generations in direct senior patrilineal succession from Abul-Haïr, making the head of the Botpay clan junior to no one, whether in the Great Horde or among the Kazakhs generally.[57] Compare this with the version given by Valikhanov, wherein seniority is assigned to the Little Horde, but on an entirely different principle: in the account of Dikambay-batyr in the 1870's, the validation of the Botpay claim to seniority is based upon a genealogy of a line of oldest sons; on the contrary, Valikhanov's claim to validation is based upon a principle of ultimogeniture. Because of the exigencies of the inheritance and succession

[57] Ibid., 395-396.

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643 pattern, both claims were possible in the 19th century. But because of the exigencies of history, specifically, the disunity and lack of rapport among the various segments of Kazakh society, the contradictory claims could never be settled, or even brought face to face.

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173 This very lack of agreement, however, is indicative of a point whose significance cannot be stressed too greatly. These genealogies are not objective history; they serve a quite different end: among the Kazakhs, a learned man or a leader, or a combination of the two, expounded their genealogy to his people, which supplied them with the expression of their mutual relatedness and their existence as a group. If this genealogy is accepted by neighboring clans and related in turn to their own, then the members of all the clans involved have a point of departure in establishing inter-clan relations, involving rights of precedence, recognition of the degree of seniority and attendant prestige, and so forth. Moreover, the fact of acceptance of a clan's genealogy by related clans means the implied acceptance of an even greater genealogy which integrates and helps to form the greater unity among a number of clans. The genealogy is a charter which is expansive and contractive, depending on the demands made of it, the size of the groups, and the degree of consanguince between the groups. And it is the charter whereby groups incorporate themselves into smaller or larger

619 181 173 social bodies.

These are groups in which the oral tradition predominates. The learned elder who expounds their genealogy to his followers and kinsmen has not invented it; he learned it from his father, who learned it from his. The oral tradition is the means whereby the genealogy is transmitted; the oral tradition is the larger genre, the repository of the integrative forces of Kazakh--and Mongol and Turkic--social life generally. The oral tradition includes more than the genealogy alone; it includes, for example, the folk-epic of the Turks and the Mongols. In order to understand what the oral tradition, genealogical and folk-epic, is, one might look to see where it is not: it does not exist among the Chinese. Chinese society has other means than that of the Altaic-speakers of the steppe whereby it has established its existence as such.

619 121 The numerical strength of the Botpay clan was a total of 2465 tents or families, or a total of some 10,000 individuals. It was formed of two major or maximal lineages, the Kudaykul, totalling 743 tents, and the Chagatay, totalling 1722 tents. The Kudaykul was in turn composed of three sub-lineages, the Bish-Imsuk, 315 tents; the Alym-Djanys, 221 tents; and the Siirchi, 207 tents. The Chagatay was composed of six minor or sub-lineages: the Isenbay, 275 tents; the Djankoilyk, 330 tents; the Asan-Taylak, 537 tents; the Akcha-Kodjay,

000 be demonstrated or disproved.

●173 619 The point is that a record of this sort[1] is entirely different from the traditions of the Naiman themselves. The Middle Horde Kazakhs of the Altai assert that the common ancestor of all Naiman was he who gave his name to the Naiman race. He had three sons, one of whom was an adopted son; nevertheless the claim of the adopted son's line to descent from the eponymous ancestor was not impaired by the fact of adoption. The genealogy collected by Margulanov follows:[259]

		Naiman		I
Ukresh		Kokban	Klata (adopted)	II
Telegetai	Sugurshi		Kelbuga Kentuga	III
				IV

Naiman's great-grandsons, in the generation of Karagerei, are regarded as the founders of eponymous clans, of which only the seven descended from the sons of Ukresh are represented in the Altai region. It may be that adoption is imputed to the Klata line of the Shirsheit clan because they are not found in the Altai, because they are removed in space, hence only distantly kin; and the imputation of adoption may be the genealogical

[259] Margulanov, appended genealogies.

[1] [Cf. Ch. 175, pp. 524-525 -- Analyst]

[Altai Kazakhs]

173 expression of the distance in space and in kinship among
619 the various groups. This need not have been the case, but the asseveration would inevitably come to mean what the genealogist has put into it; and it is this ultimate meaning which becomes the symbolic representation of the relationship between the line of Kiata and that of Ukresh, viewed from the standpoint of the latter. This is mythical history, not subject to verification.

601 From the generation of Ergenekti to the time the
614 genealogy was collected in the 1920's, fourteen generations (twice seven) were reckoned, and this genealogy was the charter of membership, of incorporation in the analogical sense advanced here, of the Ergenekti clan, the eldest of the Sugurshi[1] line.[1] No particular functions are ascribed by the ethnographers to this structure, and we must look among the component lineages (patrilineage - "bone" - sŏk) for these. Among those Naiman who had moved to the valley of the Chu,[1] a variation on the above genealogy was recorded in the 1920's. In this genealogy, that of another lineage of the Ergenekti clan, fourteen generations were reckoned likewise, but not from the clan ancestor, rather from the eponymous ancestor of all the Naiman:[260]

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[260] Samoilovich, 306.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 524-526--Analyst]